1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

TONGAN RELIGION

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others.

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the characteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott.

PULOTU

Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth.

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the underworld, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from Watkin (61):

> They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

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upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens.

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it:

> It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths concerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform (*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated property. 771

16. Omens are considered direct indications of the gods to mankind: charms or superstitious ceremonies to bring evil upon any one are considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker; to perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime. [673] [787] [789]

The Tonga people universally and positively believe in the existence of a large island, lying at a considerable distance to the north-westward of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their nobles and matabooles. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants; 772 [775] [824] [825]

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the island is also well stocked with the most beautiful birds of all imaginable kinds, as well as with abundance of hogs, all of which are immortal, unless they are killed to provide food for the hotooas or gods; but the moment a hog or bird is killed, another living hog or bird immediately comes into existence to supply its place, the same as with the fruits and flowers; and this, as far as they know or suppose, is the only mode of propagation of plants and animals. The island of Bolotoo is supposed to be so far off as to render it dangerous for their canoes to attempt going there, and it is supposed moreover, that even if they were to succeed in reaching so far, unless it happened to be the particular will of the gods, they would be sure to miss it. They give, however, an account of a Tonga canoe, which, on her return from the Fiji islands a long time ago, was driven by stress of weather to Bolotoo: ignorant of the place where they were, and being much in want of provisions,—seeing the country abound in all sorts of fruit, the crew landed, and proceeded to pluck some bread fruit, but to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay hold of it than if it were a shadow; they walked through the trunks of the trees, and passed through the substance of the houses, (which were built like those of Tonga,) without feeling

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any resistance. They at length saw some of the hotooas, who passed through the substance of their bodies as if there were nothing there: the hotooas recommended them to go away immediately, as they had no proper food for them, and promised them a fair wind and a speedy passage. They accordingly put directly to sea, and in two days, sailing with the utmost velocity, they arrived at Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands,) at which place they wanted to touch before they went to Tonga. Having remained at Hamoa two or three days, they sailed for Tonga, where they arrived with great speed, but in the course of a few days they all died, not as a punishment for having been at Bolotoo, but as a natural consequence; the air of Bolotoo, as it were, infecting mortal bodies with speedy death. The hotooas are supposed to have no canoes, not requiring them; for if they wish to be any where, there they are the moment the wish is felt.

The HOTOOAS, or supernatural intelligent beings, may be divided into classes.

1. The original gods.
2. The souls of nobles, that have all attributes in common with the first, but inferior in degree.
3. The souls of matabooles, that are still in-

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103 **Lokoka.** With the koka bark; in reference to its use as a coloring matter for tapa [lo, with; koka, a tree]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Lokupo. Preparing to catch [loku, to prepare; po, to catch]. Tract near Pangai, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Supposed to be a stream near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T), where the mullet breed, connecting with Lokofa, an underground stream. Also tract on Lofanga island (H).

Lolevenga. With endeavor [lo, with; levenga, to endeavor]. Tract near Kolomaile, village on Eua island (T).

Lolo. Oil. Island (V). A small island just south of Kenutu and united to Kenutu at low tide.

Loloa. Long, tall; perhaps in reference to the timber. Place on Tongatabu island (T). The place from which timber for first Christian church was obtained. Also tract on Ovaka island (V).

Loloavave. Long of speed [loloa, long; a, of; vave, speedy]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Loloano. Shade near a swamp [lolo, shade; ano, swamp]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Lolofa. In the shade of the pandanus [lolo, in the shade; fa, pandanus]. Tract on Oua island (H). Also tract in Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tracts in and near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord

Lolofao. In the shade of the naked and fruitless coconut tree [lolo, in the shade; fao, naked and fruitless (applied to the coconut tree)]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Lolofau. In the shade of the fau tree [lolo, in the shade; fau, a tree]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Lolofautauhi. In the shade of the protected fau tree [lolo, in the shade; fau, name of a tree; tauhi, to protect]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Lolofehi. In the shade of the fehi tree [lolo, in the shade; fehi, a hardwood tree]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Lolofekika. In the shade of the fekika tree [lolo, in the shade; fekika, a tree (Eugenia malaccensis)]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Lolofetau. In the shade of the fetau tree [lolo, in the shade; fetau, a tree (Calophyllum inophyllum]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also beach on Uoleva island (H). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Toula, village on Vavau island (V).

Lolofoa. Wasted oil [lolo, oil; foa, to break, to crack]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Lolofokolulu. Tract near Haakame, village on Tongatabu island (T).

(772) **Lolofonua.** [Lolo, to descend suddenly; fonua, land]. Underworld. The entrance to the Underworld is said to be a hole in the island of Koloa, Vavau group. Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Kei, village on Vavau island (V).

Lolofusi. In the shade of the banana tree [lolo, in the shade; fusi, the generic term for all bananas]. Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

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Toungalei. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Toungatafe. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Touone. Very sandy. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Nukuhitulu, Holonga, and Fatumu. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract on Ovaka island (V). Also tract on Taunga island, (V)—Akauola, landlord. Also tract in Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Touonehesi. Mixed earth and sand. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Toutai. Fisherman or sailor. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Toutaiaeveka. To fish for the veka fish [toutai, to fish; ae, the; veka, a fish]. Tract on Oua island (H).

Toutupu. Growing generation. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Toutuu. A large plantation of yams, belonging to several. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Tua. One kind of yam. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Kotu island (H).

Tuaa. Outside of the fence. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Neiafu, Foui—Vahai, landlord, Haakame, and Niutoua. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Tuita, landlord.

Tuaamotu. Outside of the broken fence [tua, outside; a, fence; motu, broken]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tuacitu. A Tongan feast. A casuarina tree on Mataaho island (T).

Tuafonua. The exterior of the land [tua, exterior; fonua, land]. Tract on Eueiki island (T). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Tuafuahau. A commoner who assumes importance on account of living with a chief [tua, commoner; fuahau, to assume importance on account of living with a chief]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tuafutu. Outside of the futu grove [tua, outside; futu, a tree]. Tracts near villages on Lifuka island (H): near Hihifo, Pangai, and Holopeka—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Tuahakau. Outside of the reef [tua, outside; hakau, reef]. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Faleval, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.

Tuahalakaho. Path behind the reed clump [tua, behind; hala, path; kaho, reed]. A hole, entrance to the Underworld, in Koloa island (V); called Halahikuleo by modern Tongans. [772]

Tuahavaiki. Outside of the small passage [tua, outside; hava, passage; iki, small]. Tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Tuahiioto. Central tuahi shellfish [tuahi, shellfish; ioto, center, middle]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

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539 mountains on the Ata that was hauled from the sea: "And leaping ashore,
773 he [Maui] sprang to the top of the highest mountain, and stamped upon it with his feet. And, as he stamped, the earth shook, and the mountain crumbled away beneath his feet, and rolled down into the valleys below, till they were filled up to the level on which he stood. This he did to four of the seven hills, leaving the other three untrodden, for he grew weary of the work."

When Tongatabu was hauled to the surface, Maui trod down all of the hills [10] "into rich and fertile plains; on which, even as he trod, there sprang up grass and flowers and trees, while the earth swelled into hillocks round his feet, bursting with yams, and sweet potatoes, and all manner of food." Here we have an origin of the food plants quite different from that set forth in the tales that I obtained. The sky, foreign lands, and a buried human body are the sources given in the tales here published.

539
[772] The concept of multiple skies is found in Tonga and is clearly set forth in a recitative (*fakaniua*) given by the crippled man Taufa, and in the archives of the Methodist church by Dr. J. E. Moulton. The Tongan text, with a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, follows:

Ke fanongo mai e tama hiva ni,
Kae fai siemanu lau langi:
Langi tuo taha, langi tuo ua
Teke e Maui ke maolunga,
Kau eva fakamofutofuta;
Ko hotau fonua oku ua,
Ko langi ni pea mo lolofonua.
Langi tuo tolu, langi tuo fa,
Nofo ai a ufia mo lata,
Koe langi kehe langi uha
Ne ne ufia langi maa.
Langi tuo nima, langi tuo ono,
Nofo ae laa mate toto,

Sii fetuu ene fakaholo
Ne hange ha tuinga tokotoko;
Pea hanga hake ki ai e nofo.

Langi tuo fitu, langi tuo valu,
Nofo ai a Hina mo Sinilau;
Koe langi ape e tamutamu
Ha mea e leo lahi ange fau,
Oka ita oka longolongo tau,
Langi tuo hiva, tuo hongofulu,
Koe langi ne fulufulu motuku,
Koe langi ape oku unlu,
Kae fefei e tala tuku.

Listen, O poet,
While I tell of the skies:
First sky and second sky
Pushed by Maui to be high,
So that I could walk stately;
Our lands are two,
The sky and the underworld.
Third sky and fourth sky,
Dwell there the covered and inclouded,
The different sky, the sky that rains
And that hides the cloudless sky.
Fifth sky and sixth sky,
Dwells there the sun, who dies in crimson,
The little stars moving in succession
Like a string of walking-sticks;
And look up to them the dwellers on earth.
Seventh sky and eighth sky,
Dwell there Hina and Sinilau;
The sky of the thunder
With a great loud voice,
When angry or giving omen of war.
The ninth sky and the tenth,
The sky feathery like herons,
The sky of uncertain rumbling,
Perhaps telling of parting.

[173] The three following short cosmogonical tales obtained from living Tongans are of interest. The first is really a divine genealogy and was told

[10] Op. cit., page 141.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

[127] 1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.

[538] 2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeaepoto that they were equal in poetic skill.

3. Mamaeaepoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.

[538] 4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *hangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.

5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."

6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.

7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweethearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

539 1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.

76 2. *Huni* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.

[538] 3. A slight emendation of *hotau* to *hoto* would give "my" instead of "our." If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line [763] and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his [824] ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweetheart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.

[823] 4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.

[763] 5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.

[821] 6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.

[772] 7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.

192 8. The heilala (*Gardenia sp.*) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and [824] are then called *tapu kakala*.

[769] 9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. Fatailangalanga is the name of an unidentified place.

[764] 10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also [192] speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, Tangaloa Atulongolongo being the member of the family spoken of as paying such visits.

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui), and Maui Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from a woman in Vavau he raised the sky to its present elevation. Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role, in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye. Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye. In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Sinailele, of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend mentions also another Maui, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people. To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola, Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title has given me the best information about this and many other matters; his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava* bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial expression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie," which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu Katoa.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Fine-motua*, married woman (plur. *Finematua*).

Fisi, a game in which light sticks are flipped.

Fisiba, flip, frequently as a gesture of astonishment; *Fisiba Ha'amoa mo Niua*, Samoa and Niua are surprised.

Fisifisitata'i, flip and tap.

Fisikaho, a mode of arranging the hair.

Foefoe-lua, to use the oar also, i.e., as an auxiliary to the sail.

Fo'uhia, build (boat).

Fofoga'i-mama, fire, light, burnt at funeral of a high chief.

Fohua, tassel on edge of mat (v. *Taufohua*).

Fokihaga, turning place.

Fokihaga-folau, place for voyager to turn back. This has a special reference to the tree on the edge of the world where mortal voyagers must turn and come back. The preceding word, *fokihaga*, also used of this turning place.

Fokololo, (i) dress in which corpse buried; (ii) seamen of the king (v. also Baker, s.v.).

Fokotu'uga, short voyage, ferry trip.

Fokotu'uniu, large pile.

Fola-'osi, complete width of native cloth, i.e., two *ma'ukubu* (q.v.); a chief's dress *(vala)*.

Folaha, to cut the Tui Tonga's hair.

Folehia, spread abroad, published, talked about (?), cf. *Folahi*.

Folofua, gulp down, swallow.

Fono, (i) gather, assemble; (ii) planking in side of boat.

Fono-ha'iha'i, a game in which players bind each other in turn, to see who can get free from opponent's binding.

Fonotaki, serve as food *(fono)* with *kava*.

Fonu-toho, name of a fish (turtle?)

Fota, a little basin of rocks in the sea in which to take the fish called *ulukau*. The word, or the method, seems properly to belong to the people of Talau in Vava'u (v. *Kau*).

Foto, stingray's tail.

Fotu, chief who bears *kava* at head of ceremonial procession.

Fuabo, commence the ceremony of watching with lights round house in which dead chief is lying (v. *Bo*).

Fui, to dip in water.

Fuifui, flock of birds (v. Baker). Following words used to describe approach or appearance of flock of pigeons: *tubutubu*, just appearing, scarcely discernible; *nono* (the name of a small insect) individual birds just distinguishable; *namu* (mosquito) individual birds just distinguishable; *lago* (fly) birds appearing a little larger; *nusi* (swift, swallow), birds again a little larger.

Fuifui tauhala, flock with an odd number of birds. The odd bird increases the difficulty of snaring by flying about looking for a mate.

Fuifui tauhoa, flock with an even number of birds in it.

Fuifui buleoto, necklace of *buleoto* (a prized shell, supposed to reveal chastity or infidelity of the wearer).

Fuofuavale, a phase of the moon, almost full (v. *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*).

Fuogogoo, swelling, large and round (?).

Fu'ufu'uga (me'a), great quantity.

Fugani, row of sweet-smelling flowers and leaves adorning top part of leaf girdle.

Fugani-ua, girdle with double *fugani*.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Conclusion

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his lifetime it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecutions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan observes the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Paradise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it. Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni, Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea, Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his debtor.

Tubou College,
Nukualofa, Tonga.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up....

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 1000–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.
[2] Orua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and political development of Tonga has been extremely significant.

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144).

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

> The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp. they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries definitely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmology of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising, overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7).

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Moulton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his

/245 cont./

436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
177 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns, [432] however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the [574] same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even- [181] tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
177 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
777 change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

(113) 650. H. Nevermann, Gotter der Sudsee /Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

(778) 651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

828 People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the
794 body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the
795 phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

562. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

(565) The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

565 Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles
795 lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings,
772 which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existance which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

795 There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power
787 and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/249 cont./

develop an effectiveness comparable to the Wesleyans who at that time had already been working intensively for 16 years. But even they converted a number of Tongans to their faith and were able to found a few congregations, especially since they embraced a few heathen chiefs whom the Wesleyan Tongans, for political reasons, regarded as hostile, and because they often proved more tolerant then the Methodists. The year 1852 then brought the final consolidation of a Christianized, peaceful and united Kingdom of all the Tonga Islands under the aforementioned Taufa'ahau who, as King George Tupou I, ruled into the 90s of the 19th century. (669)

669. See p. 158 ff.; for the history of the missionization of the Tonga Archipelago see also G. Koch, "Die fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln" /Early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/, manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949. pp. 70-83.

Today all Tongans are Christians so much as a matter of course and with such devotion that their old religion is almost completely forgotten. The ancient Tongan conception of the world with the idea of high and low beings has been replaced by the Christian ideas of the good (pleasing to God) and the evil (satanic). The idea of the phantom-being that characterized only the nobility has been superseded by the belief in the individual eternal soul of all ranks of Tongans and the resurrection of the body. The conviction that all misdeeds were punished only on earth and that the phantom-being of nobles alone led a paradisiac life in distant pulotu was replaced by the Christian doctrine of divine justice not only in this world, of damnation and hell, of slavation and heaven. Instead of the virtually countless Tongan gods there is only one almighty God (in a Trinity which, to be sure, is difficult to comprehend). The

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and
805 829 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young
212 are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church
[205] writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

772 823 177 The conception of the world (749)

749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

772 177 but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales. Geography and history, cosmology (751)

[821] 751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For
[771] [212] [538] most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded

/275 cont./

772 771 177 212 538 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early missionaries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased. Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages 872 of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)

[113] 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates, [194] woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in